

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 ATHENS 08016 01 OF 02 171741Z

43

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00

NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 IO-10 AID-05

IGA-01 EB-07 OMB-01 TRSE-00 MC-02 ACDA-05 SAM-01 /091 W

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R 171620Z OCT 75

FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 928

INFO AMCONSUL THESSALONIKI

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION NATO

DIA WASHDC

USCINCEUR

CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN

CINCUSNAVEUR

USNMR SHAPE

USDOCOSOUTH

SECDEF WASHDC

CNO WASHDC

CHIEF STAFF AIR FORCE WASHDC

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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 1 OF 2 ATHENS 8016

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR GR TU CY NATO

SUBJ: PRIME MINISTER'S DISCUSSION OF NATO, GREEK-TURKISH RELATIONS, CYPRUS AND U.S. BASES IN GREECE

REF ATHENS 8001

1. IN THE COURSE OF HIS ADDRESS BEFORE PARLIAMENT THE EVENING OF OCTOBER 16, PRIME MINISTER CARAMANLIS PRESENTED HIS GOVERNMENT'S POSITION ON THE PRINCIPAL  
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PAGE 02 ATHENS 08016 01 OF 02 171741Z

FOREIGN POLICY AND DOMESTIC ISSUES FACING GREECE. REFTEL

GAVE A GENERAL SUMMARY OF HIS REMARKS; THIS TELEGRAM CONTAINS A MORE DETAILED PRESENTATION OF WHAT HE SAID ON SEVERAL SUBJECTS OF SPECIAL INTEREST TO US.

2. NATO. THE PRIME MINISTER RECALLED THAT WHILE GREECE HAD FOR MANY YEARS BEEN A FULL MEMBER OF NATO, "AN ALLIANCE SUPPORTED BY ALL (SIC) THE EEC COUNTRIES", IT HAD WITHDRAWN FROM THE MILITARY WING OF THE ALLIANCE IN AUGUST 1974 FOR REASONS WHICH "ARE LINKED WITH THE CYPRUS TRAGEDY". CARAMANLIS THEN REMARKED, "AS I HAVE ALREADY STATED," IF THE REASONS WHICH MADE THE WITHDRAWAL NECESSARY ARE REMOVED, "THEN GREECE CAN REEXAMINE ITS POSITION TOWARD THE ALLIANCE." "MEANWHILE", HE NOTED, GREECE AIMS AT ESTABLISHING A "SUI GENERIS" RELATIONSHIP WITH NATO--"ONE BEING NEGOTIATED NOW"--RESEMBLING THOSE OF NORWAY AND FRANCE.

3. CARAMANLIS THEN CITED THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF THIS PROPOSED SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP : (A) IN PEACETIME GREECE'S ARMED FORCES WILL BE EXCLUSIVELY UNDER NATIONAL COMMAND; (B) IN CASE OF A MORE GENERAL CONFLICT THERE WILL BE FULL DEFENSE COOPERATION (AND HE CITED THE EXAMPLE OF FRANCE); (C) IN THE LATTER EVENT, MECHANISMS WILL BE PROVIDED AS OF NOW CAPABLE OF ACTIVATING SUCH COOPERATION AT THE MOMENT OF CRISIS; AND (D) ADVANCE PERMISSION-CONSENT OF THE GREEK GOVERNMENT WILL BE REQUIRED FOR ANY SERIOUS ACTION ON GREEK SOIL, WHETHER IN PEACETIME OR WARTIME.

4. U.S. BASES IN GREECE. THE PRIME MINISTER STATED THAT THE GOG'S POSITION ON THIS QUESTION "HAS BEEN AND REMAINS CLEAR". THE ISSUE, HE SAID, DID NOT ARISE OUT OF ANY HOSTILITY TOWARDS THE U.S., BUT FROM THE NEED TO HARMONIZE THE STATUS OF THE BASES WITH CURRENT REALITY AND GREEK NATIONAL INTERESTS. AS A RESULT, THE PRIME MINISTER CONTINUED, SOME BASES WILL BE ABOLISHED AND SOME WILL BE REDUCED AND ONLY THOSE BASES WHICH ALSO SERVE GREEK DEFENSE NEEDS WILL REMAIN. "BUT EVEN THESE," HE DECLARED, "WILL BE PLACED UNDER NATIONAL CONTROL" (APPLAUSE). HE ALSO INDICATED THAT THE CHANGE OF THE LEGAL STATUS OF AMERICANS SERVING IN GREECE IS BEING EXAMINED AND IT WILL BE REFORMED IN SUCH A MANNER THAT THEY WILL BE TREATED IN A COMPLETELY LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 03 ATHENS 08016 01 OF 02 171741Z

SIMILAR WAY AS CITIZENS OR EMPLOYEES OF ALL OTHER FOREIGN NATIONS IN GREECE.

5. CYPRUS. THE PRIME MINISTER REVIEWED EVENTS IN CYPRUS, BEGINNING WITH THE COUP AGAINST MAKARIOS. HE NOTED THAT BECAUSE OF THE COUP GREECE WAS ISOLATED AND BECAME AN OBJECT OF RIDICULE. HE RECALLED THAT THE ADVANCE BY THE TURKISH TROOPS TO OCCUPY 40 PERCENT OF THE ISLAND DEMONSTRATED

"TURKEY'S DECEIT" AND THAT IT DID NOT COME TO THE GENEVA MEETING IN SEARCH OF A SOLUTION. BECAUSE OF THAT TURKISH TROOP ADVANCE, THE PRIME MINISTER STATED THAT THE "GREEK GOVERNMENT THOUGHT SERIOUSLY OF THE POSSIBILITY OF MILITARY INTERVENTION ON THE ISLAND, (BUT) IT WAS DETERMINED THAT THE CONDITIONS AT THAT TIME DID NOT PERMIT THIS." CARAMANLIS THEN EXPLAINED THAT THE GOVERNMENT UNDERTOOK AN INTENSIVE AND MULTI-SIDED DIPLOMATIC STRUGGLE TO WIN RECOGNITION FOR GREEK RIGHTS ON CYPRUS. HE ASSERTED THAT

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PAGE 01 ATHENS 08016 02 OF 02 171733Z

44

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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 2 OF 2 ATHENS 8016

ALL INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND ALL GOVERNMENTS OF THE

WORLD HAD DENOUNCED TURKEY AND APPLIED, AND ARE STILL APPLYING, PRESSURE TO RESTORE JUSTICE. HE POINTED OUT THAT AS A RESULT OF "THIS PRESSURE" A DIALOGUE BEGAN WITH TURKEY SIX MONTHS AGO (A PROBABLE REFERENCE TO THE BEGINNING OF THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS IN VIENNA LAST APRIL).

6. HOWEVER, CARAMANLIS DECLARED, THIS DIALOGUE REACHED AN IMPASSE BECAUSE TURKEY DID NOT WANT, AND FOR DOMESTIC REASONS COULD NOT, CONTINUE IT. WITH THE REMOVAL OF THE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 02 ATHENS 08016 02 OF 02 171733Z

"OBSTACLES" TO THE DIALOGUE -- THE LIFTING OF THE AMERICAN ARMS EMBARGO AND THE HOLDING OF THE RECENT ELECTIONS -- THE PRIME MINISTER SUGGESTED, "TURKEY'S GOOD FAITH WILL BE JUDGED DURING THE COMING WEEKS," AS WILL THE GOOD SENSE OF THOSE WHO ACCEPTED THESE EXCUSES. CARAMANLIS REMINDED THE DEPUTIES THAT "NEARLY ALL THE GOVERNMENTS WITH ANY INVOLVEMENT IN THE CYPRUS PROBLEM, HEADED BY THE U.S. GOVERNMENT, BELIEVE THAT THE REMOVAL OF THESE OBSTACLES WILL MAKE A SOLUTION POSSIBLE". PRIME MINISTER EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT TURKEY'S BEHAVIOR WOULD VINDICATE THEM, ALTHOUGH HE ADDED "JUDGING FROM THE EXPERIENCE OF THE PAST I HAVE REASON TO BELIEVE THAT THIS WILL NOT HAPPEN". IF IT DOES NOT HAPPEN," HE CONCLUDED, "THE STRUGGLE WILL BE CONTINUED UNTIL VINDICATION --REGARDLESS OF THE TIME AND THE SACRIFICE IT ENTAILS" (LOUD APPLAUSE).

7. THE AEGEAN. THE PRIME MINISTER DECLARED THAT GREECE SINCERELY WANTS A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF ITS DIFFERENCES WITH TURKEY OVER THE AEGEAN. HE ADDED THAT GREECE BELIEVES IN THE USEFULNESS OF GREEK-TURKISH COOPERATION--PROVIDED IT IS HONEST AND SINCERE. CARAMANLIS POINTED OUT THAT GREECE HAD PROVEN THIS BELIEF BY DEEDS, I.E. BY FOLLOWING THE PATH TO ARBITRATION, A "ROAD THAT HAS ALSO BEEN FOLLOWED BY OTHER GOVERNMENTS IN SIMILAR CASES, E.G. GERMANY WITH DENMARK, AND FRANCE WITH GREAT BRITAIN". CARAMANLIS ENDED HIS REMARKS ON THIS POINT BY WARNING THAT "TURKEY WILL MAKE A GREAT MISTAKE "IF IT DOES NOT APPRECIATE CORRECTLY THIS GOODWILL OF GREECE. IT WILL MAKE A GREATER MISTAKE IF IT CONSIDERS THIS AS A WEAKNESS. BECAUSE IT CAN BE DRAGGED INTO AN ADVENTURE FOR WHICH I DO NOT KNOW WHO WILL BE THE FIRST TO REPENT" (APPLAUSE).

8. OUR COMMENTS WILL FOLLOW BY SEPTTEL. STEARNS

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## Message Attributes

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